

this with a sinister and insidious motive, which no fool can mistake for anything else, at the same time they are pressing for the establishment of Hindudom through another brother. He says: You must fix a time-limit and give Dominion status for India, of the Westminster variety.

"Who is to give it? The British Government? I ask, is it not, on the face of it, futile and absurd? In the first instance, the British Government cannot do it. But even if they do it, do you expect the British Government to put Savarkar on the *gaddi* and do the policing of his Raj? What is the sanction behind this constitution of Dominion status of the Westminster variety? How is that to be given? As Mr. Amery rightly says, it is not a decoration or medal that can be attached to your buttonhole with a safety pin. It is a question of running the Government of this sub-continent. Do you want that the British bayonet should keep you on the *gaddi*? Do you expect it?

Time-Limit

"That is their demand. I ask you, what is behind this demand? It cannot be very obtruse. Let us give some credit to the opponent's intelligence however stupid they may be. What are they driving at? You will see that the Mahasabha puts a time-limit, within a year or two after the war, and wants that the British Government must undertake and promise to give India Dominion status of the Westminster variety. What does it mean? If the British Government makes a declaration to-day that within a year or two, after the war, they solemnly undertake and declare that they shall establish in this country a Government similar to Canada, as a Dominion of the Westminster variety, it means that the constitution will no longer be framed with the consent of the major parties; in other words, the consent of the Muslims is not necessary. Then with whose approval will the British Government give the constitution? Of course, the

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Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. If they are satisfied, and even if the Muslims are not satisfied that does not matter, the British Government will say: I have given my promise and I must enact the constitution. I want to know, if the constitution is enacted as promised, whether it means the withdrawal of the British military forces. Then what is the sanction behind it. Let me tell you that in the first instance the British are not such fools; even if they do commit such a folly, let me tell you that that constitution will not last for a fortnight. (Cheers).

The Brothers

"Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru says: Make a declaration of India's independence. Sir T. B. Saprú, who is most subtle and plausible—therefore all the more treacherous—also says the same thing. You can see the family likeness. What does he say? In his statement of December 25 he says: 'India must be made to feel that in doing the best they can for the war effort, they are not only discharging their obligations to the Commonwealth but are also fighting for the preservation of their free life'. He recommends first that 'a new declaration that India would no longer be treated as a Dependency be made forthwith.' One brother says, declare India independent. The other brother says, declare that India will no longer be treated as a dependency. Can you see the distinction between the two? Why does Sir T. B. Saprú and the liberals talk like this?

"In a recent speech what does Mr. Sastri say? He says, the same thing in another language—The same family resemblance. He says that we must give all the safeguards to the Muslims, consistently with national interests. Whose national interests? Which nation? Hindu or Muslim? Therefore, the more you examine it, the same you will find—the same song of Hindudom.

"I want to impress upon you on what lines the Hindu leaders are going and how they are all aiming at the same thing, more or less, speaking in different languages. One is more plausible while the other is more blunt. But they all mean the same thing—namely, Central Government with all India as a single unit, a united India which means Hindu majority rule, not a political majority but the majority of one nation and one society over another nation and another society. They want that you must be reduced to the position of an all-India minority. You will only be given such necessary safeguards, as a minority as will not be inconsistent with the national interests, of the Hindus.

"Ladies and gentlemen, that means that not only where we are in a minority but also where we are in the majority, the entire Muslim community will come under the heel of the Hindu Raj and will be treated and kept down as a minority to look to their orders and work under their yoke. That is a position which the Muslims will never accept as long as the last Muslim is alive. (Applause). The sooner they give up this sort of camouflage the better.

Another Blitz.

"Why are these statements pouring in just at this Christmas time? The Hindu leaders, in their statesmanship, imagine that Britain is now in the grip of a more dreadful struggle after the Japanese entry into the war. This time England is under such stress and feels so embarrassed and so moved that she must seek help somewhere. Their resources and preparations may not be sufficient to meet the new Japanese menace. So they think that England is now shaky and that this is the time to start another blitz of agitation and under the stress of these developments coerce the British Government and stampede them to

make some commitment in favour of Hindu India.

"Their hopes are raised to a certain extent because in the first instance the Government of India is supposed to have made a gesture in releasing certain class of prisoners. They are further encouraged because of the ignorance of the British Press. When you read those newspapers, one cannot help being amused at their utter ignorance of the conditions of India. They write according to their light. In those articles our Hindu leaders find that the British are nervous and that this is the proper time for them. That is why these plethora of statements are being issued.

"It is because of this that the Congress is still contemplating. They sat for nine hours on the first day at Bardoli. They had another nine hours on the following day. They will sit for many more days. You know, they are clever people. They may keep a loop-hole here and another loop-hole there to save their neck. Because, after all, what will happen? If Mr. Rajagopalachari succeeds, Mr. Gandhi retires. It does not make any difference. Mr. Gandhi is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. But he will always remain a member of the Congress as a non-member of the Congress.

"It is now announced to the world that the A. I. C. C. will meet on January 15 next. The world must wait with pulsating heart and await the decision of the A. I. C. C. at Wardha. But let me tell you that it is not going to move us by a hair's breadth.

13 Points.

"I will read the latest of Mr. Gandhi. He has formulated his 13 points as a constructive programme to attain Purna Swaraj. Mr. Gandhi is not long-winded and you can put any interpretation on whatever he says and he can put any interpretation on whatever he writes, whenever he likes. (Laughter). I think this is pretty clear. He says that the first item is communal unity. By com-

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